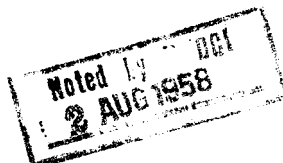


MEMORANDUM FOR: Mr. Dulles

Attached is the letter from Mr. Frank Altschul, together with its attachment, concerning which you asked on Sunday.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

7 JUL 1958

Noted by BD/I
JUL 10 1958

Mr. Frank Altschul
New York 19, New York

Dear Frank:

Many thanks for your letter of 1 July and
the enclosure which you were so good to send me.

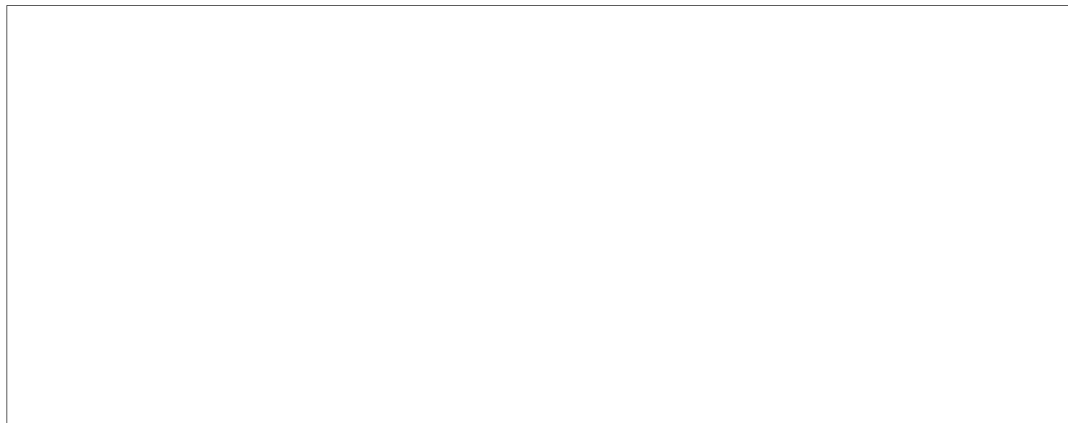
I appreciate your bringing this to my atten-
tion and am forwarding it to some of my people
here.

With kindest personal regards.

Sincerely,

SIGNED

Allen W. Dulles
Director



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

(EXECUTIVE REGISTRY FILE

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11-5/82

FRANK ALTSCHUL

NEW YORK 19, N. Y.

ROOM 1701

25X1

25X1

July 1, 1958

Dear Allen,

Just in case it has escaped your notice, I am enclosing copy of a letter from Sukarno to the New Statesman, published in the issue of June 28th, which, whether inspired by Moscow or not, seems to me extremely moving and morally unanswerable.

As I think the communication is of some importance, I thought that before leaving for the West I should call it to your attention.

With kindest regards, I am,

Yours sincerely,

Frank

Mr. Allen Dulles
Central Intelligence Agency
2430 "E" Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

25X1

NEW STATESMAN 28 JUNE 1958

A Warning from Asia

We have received the following communication from President Sukarno of Indonesia.

SIR, - We in Indonesia followed with absorbed interest the correspondence of Earl Russell, Mr Krushchev and Mr Dulles concerning the H-bomb. We also watch with some relief the tide of mass protest growing in some of the hydrogen-armed countries. I feel that the voice of an Asian should be heard on this matter. Therefore, although uninvited, I am writing to you. I am writing from Djakarta, a city near the middle of Asia, the continent chosen as the atomic and hydrogen testing ground.

The war-time victims of the atomic bomb were Asians; it is scientifically indicated that the peacetime victims of hydrogen bomb testing are mostly Asian. It is quite time that Asian voices were heard on this matter. It is true that the choice of life or nuclear death is not in our hands, but at least we have the right and duty to speak and protest. It is our future no less than yours which is at stake.

As a man, a father, an Asian and a human being made in the image of God I am appalled at the cynicism of those who wield atomic weapons. They speak of saving their forms of civilisation, yet their policy is based on the determination to destroy, if they conceive it necessary, that civilisation. And, of course, that destruction would not be confined to themselves. The nature of nuclear warfare means that there could be no neutrality in such a clash. We, too, are inevitably scheduled for the nuclear incinerator if your 'fail-safe' civilisation should go wrong. It is a fearful thought that the future of the world rests upon the proper functioning of a thermionic valve somewhere in the Arctic.

In his letter to you, Mr Dulles made the point that the creed of the United States is based on the tenets of moral law. This I fully accept, just as I accept the great political and emotional impact of the American Declaration of Independence and of the Communist Manifesto. What cannot be accepted is a wilful perversion of moral law, a perversion whose weight falls upon the unconsulted and the unborn.

It must be recognised that both main nuclear powers are prepared to wage nuclear war in defence of what they consider to be their vital interests. Neither power is prepared to jeopardise itself nor forsake any possible advantage. Both are determined that the other shall not maintain a lead in retaliatory or offensive power. This is a fact of political life. This situation will continue so long as their ideologies remain vital.

In this situation, we of Asia are little but pawns in the game. We do not, and for this I am grateful, have atomic bombs to flourish. However, it would be most unwise to disregard Asian opinion. In all sincerity, I tell you that we are growing increasingly resentful of the present situation. Asians are the chief victims of the West's failures and moral bankruptcy.

The West is facing a moral crisis. If there are any future generations, what will be their verdict on this second half of the twentieth century? There is no doubt at all that the testing of these horror-weapons, let alone their use, has already claimed its victims, probably running into scores of thousands, already born and still unborn. You have abrogated to yourselves powers which rightly belong to the Almighty; you have already ensured that the sins of the fathers - your sins - shall be visited upon the children. Believe me in this context, we in Asia do not see you as saviours of

civilisation or as forerunners of the future; we see you as agents of death - our death.

I am writing this letter on the occasion of the anti-H-bomb week in Indonesia. Already, outside my official residence, thousands of people are gathering. Do not think that they are Communists or Communist dupes. They are ordinary people, worried and wondering about their future, hopeful that their simple lives will not be ended and their hopes ruined by mistakes they did not make, but by distant people to whom they owe nothing. This anti-H-bomb week has been arranged in connection with the series of tests in Eniwetok. In terms of fall-out, that is in our backyard. How many Asians will die as a result of those tests? Can the scientists tell us?

The tenets of moral law compel us to protest. Three years ago, the Bandung Conference 'considered that disarmament and the prohibition of experimentation and use of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons of war are imperative to save mankind and civilisation from the fear and prospect of wholesale destruction'.

We still believe that a firm and assured peace is necessary for us in order that our peoples can reconstruct these Asian states. We cannot impose peace upon the world, but we demand the right to be heard and consulted. The Bandung Conference further appealed that, 'pending the total prohibition of the manufacture of nuclear weapons, all the powers concerned should reach agreement to suspend experiments with such weapons'. Three years later, only one power has done so. Whatever the reasons for that action, we welcome it just as we should welcome any similar action by other powers.

If western civilisation, both the Communist and the anti-Communist branches, cannot solve this problem, then it probably deserves to perish. It must be realised that this now is not only a problem of security, but a problem of morality, personal and international.

We utterly deny the right of the West to continue imperilling us and our future. We utterly deny you the right to cause cancer in our children. It is past time for the West, Communist and anti-Communist alike, to draw back from the edge of complete moral bankruptcy. It is explicitly your task to utilise the skill and technique of your science for peaceful purposes.

One tenth of the treasure and skill used in making your hydrogen weapons could transform my country. We are still in a pre-industrial stage of development. We know that the engines which drive an atomic submarine can drive electric generators. We know which we prefer.

There can be no question now of the West giving moral leadership to Asia. Your moral leadership has, for us, meant first colonialism and now the philosophical, moral, political and social bankruptcy of a nuclear arms-race.

The thousands of people who are now gathered outside Merdeka Palace may be politically unsophisticated (although no more so than a mass-meeting in a western country), but they are not fools. They are awake.

You in the West are causing more gaps between humanity; you are also losing the battle for the hearts and minds of men.

Sukarno